

Notes upon the Codex Ramirez, with a translation of the same. By Henry Phillips, Jr.

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Perhaps one of the most valuable fragments of antiquity that has survived the bigoted fury of the Spanish ecclesiastics is the Codex Ramirez, a history of the Mexicans as shown forth by their hieroglyphical and symbolical writings. It was prepared shortly after the Conquest by the orders and for the use of Señor Ramirez de Fuen Leal, Bishop of Cuenca, President of the Chancelleria, to be used in deciding upon questions of all nature that were likely to arise before that tribunal. He caused the Aztec sages and priests to come together before him, and to agree upon an explanation of the characters and signs in which the law, history and mythology of the Mexicans were written. As an authentic exposition of such, it is unique and of the greatest value to students.

Brinton (Am. Hero Myths, 78), calls it "the most valuable authority we possess;" Pinelo (Vol. II, 603), refers to its having been used by Herrera; Chavero (Anales del Museo Nacional, III, iv, 120), "*se considera como la mejor fuente, acaso la unica verdaderamente autorizada, para conocer los hechos pasados en Tenochtitlan.*" When Bishop Ramirez returned to Spain, he took with him this MS., which now exists in Madrid in a volume of twelve leaves folio entitled *Libro de oro y Thesoros Indicos*, and bears upon it various memoranda attesting its authenticity.

The work is extremely difficult to understand, and full of obscurities arising partly from errors in transcription, partly from the use of antiquated expressions, and a most involved and puerile style, and partly from incorrect and vulgar orthographies.

In the following translation I have endeavored to reproduce the simplicity and meaning of the original, adding copious notes of explanation and conjecture wherever a passage seemed to demand it.

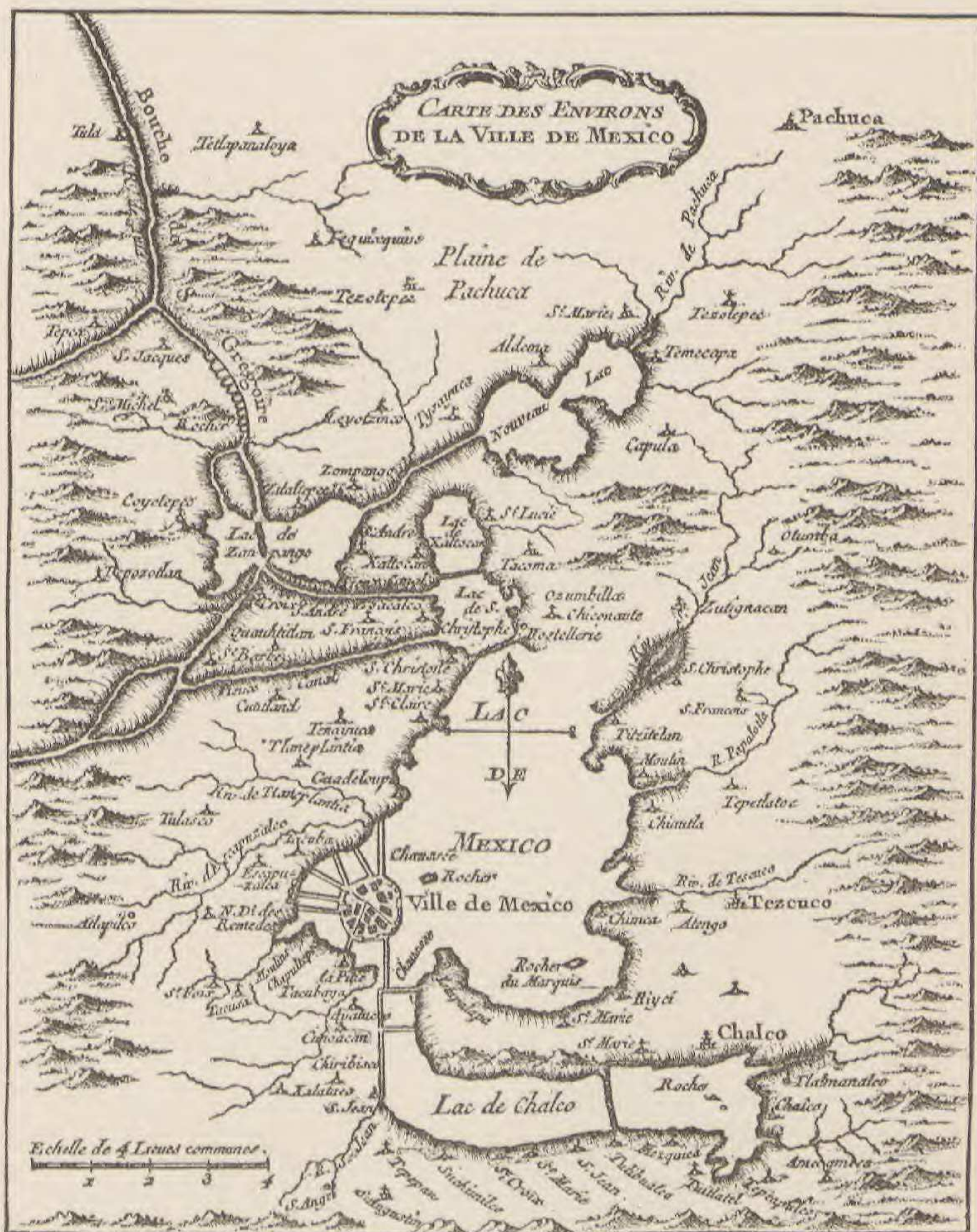
(NOTE.—Tz is pronounced like the Maya Ç; X like the sound of sh in English; t between two "l's" is dropped; o and u were pronounced almost identical (*Molina*). Anales de Museo Nacional, I, vi, 242.)

HISTORY OF THE MEXICANS AS TOLD BY THEIR PAINTINGS.

CHAPTER 1ST.

Of the Creation and Beginning of the World and of the Original and Superior Deities.

Through symbols and writings formerly used, through the traditions of the old and of those who in the days of their infidelity were priests and pontiffs, and through the narrations of the lords and chief men to whom they were accustomed to teach the law and educate in their temples in order to render them learned, brought together before me with their books and hieroglyphics, which according to what is demonstrated are believed



This Map of the Environs of the City of Mexico is reproduced from *Le Petit Atlas Maritime* * * * (par Le Sieur Bellais, par ordre de M. Le Duc de Choiseul. Paris, 1764). Vol. 2, Pl. 5. The configuration of the Lakes of Mexico and Chalco, however, is incorrectly represented.

to be of ancient origin, many of them anointed with human blood, it appears that there was originally one god named *Tonacatecli*,¹ who took for wife *Tonacaçiguatl*, or as she is sometimes called *Cachequacalt*, who created themselves, and were perpetual inhabitants of the thirteenth heaven; of whose creation and beginning likewise there is nothing known except the fact that it also originated in the thirteenth heaven. Of this god and goddess were engendered four sons, the eldest was called *Tlaclauquetetzatlipuca*,² whom the peoples of Quaxoçingo and Tascala revered as their chief divinity under the name of *Camaxtle*,³ and who was said to have been born of a ruddy color all over. They had a second son named *Yuyanque tezeatlipuca*; he who was the greatest and the worst, who overpowered and bore sway over the other three, because he was born in the middle of all (*nació en medio de todos*); he was totally black at birth. The third was called *Queçalcoatl*,⁴ and for another name *Yaguelicatl*. To the fourth and the smallest they gave the appellation of *Omitecilt*,⁵ and *Maquezcoatl*, whom the Mexicans termed *Vchilobi*, because he was left-handed, and looked upon him as their chief deity, because in the land from whence they came, he was so considered, and was more especially the god of warfare than were the other divinities. Of these four sons of *Tonacatecli* and *Tonacaçigulatl* (*sic*), *Tezeatlipuca* was the one who knew all thoughts, and was in all places and read all hearts, for which he was called *Moyocoya*,⁶ which is to say "the all-powerful," according to which idea he is represented in painting only as the air, by which name he is not commonly known. *Vchilobi*,⁷ the younger brother, and god of the Mexicans, was born without flesh (*nació sin carne*), but only bones, in which condition he lived six hundred years, during which period of time the gods did nothing whatever, the father as well as the sons, and in their representation there is no account taken of these six hundred years, counting them as they do from twenty to twenty, according to the sign which he holds, which stands for twenty. These gods were known by these and many other names, according to how their attributes are understood, for each community called them differently by reason of their dialects, and so they were given diverse appellations.

CHAPTER 2D.

Of how the World was created and by whom.

When the six hundred years after the birth of the four brethren-gods, the sons of *Tonacatecli*, had passed away, they all four came together, and said that it was good that they should arrange what they had to do, and the law they were to be governed by, and they all committed to *Quezalcoatl* and *Vchilobi*, the performance of this task, in pursuance of which they created, under the orders and judgment of the others, the fire, and this being done they made the half-sun, which, on account of not being entire, gave not much but only a slender light. Presently they created a man and a woman; the man they called *Vxumuco*, and the woman *Çipastonal*,⁸ and to them they gave command that they should till the ground, and that the woman

should spin and weave, and that of them should be born the *Maçequales*, and that they should find no pleasure, but should always be obliged to work; to the woman the gods gave certain grains of *maíz*,⁹ so that with them she should work cures, and should use divination and witchcraft, and so it is the custom of women to do to this very day. Then they created the days which they divided into months, giving to each month twenty days, of which they had eighteen, and three hundred and sixty days in the year, of which will be spoken subsequently. Then they created *Mitliltlatteclē* and *Michitecaçiglat*, husband and wife, and these were the gods of the lower regions (*infierno*), in which they were placed; then the gods created the heavens below the thirteenth, and then they made the water and created in it a great fish similar to an alligator which they named *Çipaqli*, and from this fish they made the earth as shall be told; and to create the god and goddess of water, all the four divinities joined themselves together, and made *Tlalocatecli*,¹⁰ and his wife *Chalchiutlique*,¹¹ whom they assigned to be the gods of water, to whom they betook themselves in prayer whenever it was needful. Of this god of water it was said that he had his dwelling of four apartments, in the middle of which was a large courtyard, where stood four large earthen pans full of water. In one of these pans the water was excellent, and from it the rain fell which nourished all manner of corn and seeds and grain, and which ripened things in good season; from the second rained bad water from which fell cobwebs on the crops, and blight and mildew ensued; from another fell ice and sleet; when from the fourth rain fell nothing matured or dried. This god of rain water created many servants, small of body, who were in the rooms of the aforesaid house, and they held money boxes,¹² in which they caught the water from the great earthen pans, and various rods in the other hand; and when the god of water sent them to irrigate any especial places, they started off with their boxes and sticks, and let fall the water where they were directed, and when it thunders the noise is caused by their striking the boxes with their rods, and when it lightens it comes from within these boxes. It is eighty years since Señor de Chalco wished to sacrifice to these servants of the gods of water one of his hunchbacks¹³ and took him to the Volcano, a very high mountain always covered with snow, fifteen leagues distant from the City of Mexico, and placed the humpback inside of a cave of which the entrance was closed up, and from lack of food he became drowsy, and was carried to where he could see the aforesaid palace and the manner of life of the deity; sometime later the servants of Señor de Chalco came to look for him to see if he were dead, but finding him living, took him home where he told what he had seen; in this very year the people of Chalco were subdued by the Mexicans, and became enslaved, and it was said that this had been the signal for their loss as it took place. Afterwards all the four gods, being united in work, they created from the fish *Cipacuatl*¹⁴ the earth, which they called *Tlaltecli*,¹⁵ and represent as the god of the earth, extended over a fish as having been made of it.

CHAPTER 3D.

Of the Creation of the Sun, and how many Suns there have been, and how long each one lasted, and how the Maceguals ate in the time of each Sun, and of the Giants in those Days.

All the aforesaid was made, and created without any account being taken of the year, except that it was all in one, and without any difference of time, and it is narrated that of the first man and woman who did as has been already said, about the time when these things began to be performed, there was born a son to whom was given the name of *Pilcetecli*, and as there was lacking some woman for him to marry, the gods made of the hairs of *Suchiqueçar*,¹⁶ a woman with whom his first marriage took place. When this was done all the four deities took notice that the half sun which they had created gave but very little light, so they resolved to make another half sun, so that it should illumine the whole earth. When *Tezcatlipuca* saw this he became himself a sun in order to give light, as we represent him in painting, and they say that what we see is only the brightness of the sun and not the sun himself, because the sun rises in the morning, traverses till midday, and then returns to the east in order to start again next day, and that which is visible from noon till sunset is its brightness, and not the sun itself, and that at night it neither shows itself nor has motion. So from being a god *Tezcatlipuca* made himself a sun, and then all the other deities created giants, who were very large men, and of such extreme strength that they could tear up trees with their hands, and they lived on the acorns of evergreen oak trees, and nothing else.¹⁷ This state of affairs lasted as long as this sun did, which was thirteen times fifty-two years, which make 676 years.

CHAPTER 4TH.

*Of the manner which they have of reckoning.*¹⁸

And since they commence to count time from this first sun, and their reckoning runs on from it continuously, leaving behind the 600 years, the period of the birth of the gods, and while *Vehilobus* was in his bones, and without flesh, as has been narrated, I shall now proceed to tell the manner and order in which they reckon their year, and this is it. As has been already said, each year contains 360 days, and 18 months, each month of 20 days; and of how they use up 5 days in festivals, which became fixed, we shall speak later in our chapters touching on the feasts and their celebrations. Holding the year as has been said they correct from four to four, and neither in their language nor in their paintings, take any account of more than four years. The first they call *tectapatl*, and paint it as a stone or flint with which they cut open the body in order to draw out the heart; the second, *cali*, which they represent as a house, for by this name they call a house; the third, *tochili*, whom they paint with a rabbit's

head, for by this term they name a rabbit; the fourth, *acal*, which they represent as a sign for water. They reckon with these four numbers and objects till they come to the thirteenth year, which then rounds the great cycle, like the indiction or lustrum of the Romans; and when finished four times thirteen, the four years being run four times thirteen, making fifty and two, this they call an age (epoch), and when fifty and two years are ended, with much pomp they celebrate *the great year*, and place the period with those already passed, and re-commence anew their four year computation; the festival of which and the entrance into the new cycle was celebrated among the Mexicans by extinguishing all the lights that existed, and the priests would go to seek light again at a temple situated on a high mountain near *Estapalapa*, where the ceremonies took place, about two leagues distant from Mexico. They then continued henceforth their count of four years, and then of thirteen, till they had reached their fifty-two, and so on from fifty-two to fifty-two for all time.

Returning to the giants who were created at the time when *Tezcatlipuca* was the sun, it is said that when he ceased to be the sun, they all perished, and tigers made an end to them and ate them up, so that no one remained; and these tigers were created in this fashion; that after thirteen times fifty-two years had passed *Queçalcoatl* became the sun, and *Tezcatlipuca* ceased to be it, because he gave him a blow with a great stick, and threw him over into the water, and there he was metamorphosed into a tiger, and issued forth thence to slay the giants; and this appeared in the heavens, for it is said that the *ursa major* came down to the water because he is *Tezcatlipuca*, and was on high in memory of him.

In these eras the Maceguals ate the nuts of the pine trees and nothing else, which lasted while *Queçalcoatl* was the sun, during thirteen times fifty-two years, which was 676 years, which being come to an end *Tezcatlipuca*, on account of being a god did the same actions as his other brothers, and hence was made a tiger, and gave a kick in the breech to *Queçalcoatl*, which upset him and finished his term of being the sun; and then a terrible wind arose which carried away all the Maceguals, except a few who remained suspended in the air, and the rest turned into apes and monkeys; then *Tlalocatecli*, the god of the lower regions, became the sun, and remained so seven times fifty-two years, which are 364 years, in which time the Maceguals had nothing to eat, but *açiqiutli*, which is a species of seed of a grain which is born in the water. When these years were over, *Queçalcoatl* sent down a rain of fire from heaven, and deprived *Atlalocatecli* of being the sun, and made his wife *Chalchiutlique*, the sun in his place, who remained so six times fifty-two years, which are 312 years, and during that time the Maceguals ate only a seed of a grain like maize named *cintrococopi*.¹⁹ And so from the birth of the gods to the fulfillment of the sun according to the count were 2000 and 600 and 20 and 8 years.

CHAPTER 5TH.

Of the Deluge, and of the Fall from Heaven and of the Restoration.

In the last year of the sun *Chalchiutlique*, as has been told, it rained so much water and so great an abundance thereof that the heavens themselves fell, and the waters carried away all the *Maceguals* that were, and from them were made all manner of the fishes that exist at the present day; and so there ceased to be any more *Maceguals*, and the heaven itself had ceased to exist, for it had fallen upon the earth.²⁰ And when the four gods had seen that the heaven had fallen on the earth, which took place in the first year of the four after the sun had ended, and the rain had fallen, which was the year *tochili*, they ordained that all the four should make through the centre of the earth four roads by which to enter it in order to raise the heaven, to assist in which task they created four men; one they called *Cotemuc*, another *Yzcoactl*, another, *Yzmali*, and the fourth *Tenesuchi*. These four men having been created, the two gods, *Tezcatlipuca* and *Quiçalcoatl*, then formed themselves into enormous trees,²¹ *Tezcatlipuca* becoming the one known as *Tazcaquavilt*, meaning the tree of the mirror, and *Quiçalcoatl*, the *Queçilhuesuch*, and gods and men and trees together raised on high the heaven and the stars, just as they are to-day, and as a recompense for having raised them, *Tonacatecli*, the father, made them lords of the heaven and the stars; and when the heaven was raised, *Tezcatlipuca* and *Quiçalcoatl* walked through it, and made the road which we now see there, and met in it, and remained there in it, and held their abode there.

CHAPTER 6TH.

What happened after the Raising of the Heaven and Stars.

After that the heaven was lifted up, the gods renewed life to the earth which had expired when the heaven fell upon it, and in the second year after the deluge which was *acalt*, *Tezcatlipuca* altered his name, and changed himself into *Mixcoatl*,²² which means viper of snow, and for this reason he is painted among the gods a viper. In this year he desired to feast the gods, and for this purpose drew a light from the rods whence they were in the habit of drawing it, and hence the origin of drawing fire from flint, which are rods that have a heart. The fire being once drawn, it was the festival of making many and large flames.

From this second year in which fire came forth until the sixth, nothing happened noteworthy, except that in the sixth year after the deluge *Qinteuil* was born, son of *Picentichi*, eldest son of the first man, who, because he was a god and his wife a goddess, being made of the hairs of the goddess mother, could not die; two years later, which was the eighth year after the deluge, the gods created the *Maceguals*, just as they had formerly existed, and there is no record of any other event till this cycle of thirteen years was accomplished. In the first year of the second cycle of thirteen years thereafter all the four gods came together and said that the earth had no light

but was in darkness, there being nothing else to give any light save the fires, so they created a sun to illuminate the earth, and this sun should eat hearts and drink blood ; so to feed it they were obliged to carry on continual warfare to obtain for it blood and hearts. And since it was the will of all the gods that it should be so, in the first year of the second cycle of thirteen, which was the fourteenth after the deluge, they made a war which lasted two years till it was finished ; again in three years they made war, in which time *Tezcatlipuca* created 400 men and five women, so as to have some people for the sun to eat,²³ these men lived only four years after which the women were the sole survivors. In the decennial year of this second thirteenth it is said that *Suchiçicar*, first wife of *Piçiqiutecli*, son of the first man, died in the war, being the first woman to expire in warfare, and much the next powerful of all women, so many as died in war.

CHAPTER 7TH.

How the Sun was made and what took place afterwards.

In the thirteenth year of this second cycle of thirteen, which is in the twenty-sixth year after the deluge, we have seen how the gods agreed to make the sun, and how they made war in order to give it something to eat, *Quicalcoatl* wanted to make his son the sun, of whom he was the father but who had no mother, and at the same time *talocatecli*, the god of water, made to himself a son by *Chalchiutli*,* his wife, which is the moon, eating nothing until (*here there is a lacuna in the original*), and they drew blood from their ears,²⁴ and with this they fasted, and they drew blood from their ears, and their body in their prayers and sacrifices ; and this being done *Quicalcoatl* took his son and heated him red hot in a great fire, from whence he issued as a sun to illumine the earth ; and after the fire died out, *Talocatecli*,²⁵ came and threw his own son in the cinders from whence he issued forth as the moon, for which reason he appears ashy colored and obscure. In the last year of this thirteen, the sun began to give his light, for before that time it had always been night, and the moon began to run after the sun, and never to catch up with him, and they traversed the air perpetually without ever arriving at the heavens.

CHAPTER 8TH.

Of what happened after the Sun and Moon were made.

One year after the sun was made, which was the first of the third thirteen after the deluge, *Camasale*, one of the four gods, went to the eighth heaven, and created four men and one woman for a daughter, so that they should go to war, that there should be hearts for the sun and blood for it to drink ; and being made they fell into the water, and then returned to heaven, and as they fell and there ensued no war, the next year, which was the second of the third thirteen, the same *Camasale*, or as he is sometimes called *Mixcoatl*, took a rod and struck with it on a rock from which sallied forth forty *Chi-*

*See Note 12.

chimecas,²⁶ and this they say was the beginning of the *Chichimecas*, which we call *Otomis*, which in the language of Spain signifies mountaineers, and these, as we shall narrate hereafter, were the inhabitants of this country before the Mexicans came to conquer, and to dwell there; and in the eleven years following of this third thirteen, *Camasale*²⁷ did penance, taking the thorns of the maguëy and drawing blood from his tongue and ears, and for this reason it is the custom to draw blood from such places with the thorns whenever they supplicate the gods. He did this penance so that his four sons and daughter that he had created in the eighth heaven should descend and slay the *Chichimecas*, so that the sun should have hearts to eat; and in the eleventh year of the third thirteenth, down came the four sons and the daughter, and placed themselves in some trees whence they fed eagles; and now it was that the *Camasale* invented the wine of the maguëy and other kinds of wines in which the *Chichimecas* busied themselves, and knew nothing better than drunkenness; and being in the trees the sons of *Camasale*, they were seen by the *Chichimecas*, who went to them, so they descended from the trees, and slew all the *Chichimecas*, only three escaping; one was called *Ximbel*, another *Mimichil*, and the third was the *Camasale*, the god who had created them, and who transformed himself into a *Chichimeca*. In the eighth year of the fourth thirteen after the deluge there was a great noise in the heaven from whence there fell a deer with two heads, and *Camasale* caused it to be caught, and ordered the men who then inhabited *Cuittlalavaca*, three leagues distant from Mexico, that they should capture that deer and regard it as a god, and they did so, and they gave it for four years to eat of rabbits and vipers and butterflies; and in the eighth year of the fourth thirteen *Camasale* had a war with some of his adjoining neighbors, and in order to conquer them he took the aforesaid stag and carrying it to them overcame them; and in the second year of the fifth thirteen did this same god *Camasale* celebrate a festival in heaven, making many fires; and until there was completed the fifth thirteen after the deluge did *Camasale* keep on continuously making war, and with it he gave nutriment to the sun.

They say, and the paintings likewise show it, that in the first year of the sixth thirteen the *Chichimecas* waged war against *Camasale*, and took away his deer, through which he was enabled to be victorious; and the reason why he lost it was that while wandering about the field he fell in with a female relation of *Tezcatlipuca*, a descendant of the five women whom he had made at the time when he created the 400 men which latter died, but the females remained alive, and this one was descended from them, and bore a son who was known as *Ceacalt*,²⁸ and in this thirteen they represent that afterwards when *Ceacalt* (*sic*) was a youth he did seven years of penance, wandering alone through the mountains, and drawing blood from himself that the gods might make him a mighty warrior. And in the sixth thirteen after the deluge began, this *Ceacalt* to wage war, and he was the first lord of *Tula* whose inhabitants chose him for their chief on ac-

count of his valor. This *Qeacalt* lived until the second year of the ninth thirteen, being lord of *Tula*, and four years before that time he built a very large temple in *Tula*, and when he had done it there came to him *Tezcatlipuca*, who told him, that towards *Honduras*, in a place which is now called *Tlapalla*, there was a house built for him, and that there he should betake himself and breathe his last, for that he must go away from *Tula*,²⁹ in which town *Qeacalt* was revered as a god; to what *Tezcatlipuca* said to him, he replied that the heavens and the stars had told him that it was his fate to leave there within four years. And so when these four years were completed, he departed and took with him all the *Maceguales* of *Tula*, and left them at the city of *Chulula*, whence are descended all its inhabitants, and others he left in the province of *Cuzcatan*, whence descends the present population of that place, and in the very same manner he left behind him in *Qempoal* others who settled there, and he proceeded on his journey till he reached *Tlapala* (*sic*), and on the very day in which he arrived there he fell ill, and on the day following he died. Then *Tula* remained depopulated, and without a lord nine years.

CHAPTER 9TH.

Of the beginning and coming of the Mexicans to this New Spain.

It is said that after the completion of ten thirteens after the deluge, which are 130 years, the Mexicans were settled in a community named *Azcla* to the west of the New Spain slightly trending toward the North, which was very much populated, and in whose centre stood a mountain whence issued a fountain which became a river, like *Chapultepecque*³⁰ is in Mexico, and on the other side of this river was another settlement, and a very large one, named *Culuacan*,³¹ and since their computation begins with the first year of their emigration, so from now on for the future we shall reckon time starting from the year in which this Mexican agreed to sally out to find new lands that they might conquer, and for that reason they chose three war chiefs or captains, one they named *Xinçi*, another *Tecpaçi*, and the third *Coantlique*, and with these three started off many Mexicans (the paintings do not set out their number), and they carried with them the figure and manner of constructing their temples, so as to be able to erect them to *Vchilobi* wherever he should come. So they took their adieu of the temple they had in *Azcla*,³² and began their journey, for which reason the painting representing their expedition, makes its beginning with the temple.

CHAPTER 10TH.

How they Departed, the People of Culuacan, and what Peoples went with them, and how they were named.

As has been already narrated on the eastern side of the river they represent the City of *Culuacan*, a very large city with many populous places around it filled with people, on the account of which the inhabitants determined

to seek a country to settle in, and being united they took for captain and war-chief one named *Ynquatlatlanqui*, and they took the names of the old towns and places they had left, and gave them to new ones in the country to which they immigrated. It is said that the following people went with them, and each one took its own god which it worshiped, and the manner of its own temple, for in each one the service was different, and no one was identical with another, for which reason they are painted dissimilar; and so there went forth with them those of *Culuacan*, which was the principal city, and was placed in the new settlement distant two leagues from the one whence they populated it as they came, of which more will be said in the hereafter. They took their gods, named *Qinteul*, son of *Pinçetecli*, *Suchimulco*³³ went with them, taking his god named *Que-lazcli*, who was the stag of *Mixcoatl*³⁴ as has been told; *Atitlalabaca*, went forth with his god *Amimicli*, which was a rod of *Mixcoatl* whom they revered as a god, and carried that rod in memory of him; *Mizquique*, went forth with *Quicilcoatl* as his god; *Chalco*³⁵ went forth with *Tezcatlipuca napatecli* for his god. The people went forth of *Tacuba*, and *Culuacan* and *Ascapuzalco*, which was called *Tenpanecas*,³⁶ and these took as their god *Ocotecli*, which is fire, and for this reason they are accustomed to consume in the fire all whom they capture in war. These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of *Tzucuco*³⁷, and *Tascula* and *Guejoçingo* boast and vaunt themselves that they too came when the others came from Mexico, and are also of that land. All these people with their gods set out in this first year, which was *tecpalt*, and there went forth of them forty bands.

CHAPTER 11TH.

Of the Road they journeyed and of the Places they went, and of the Time they tarried in each Place where they were.

All having departed they came to two lofty mountains, in whose midst they encamped and remained there two years, and as the days are not painted that they occupied in reaching this spot, nothing appears more clearly than that up to the time of their resting in these sierras they reckon one year, and two years they spent there sowing what they had to eat and carry off with them, and here they erected their first temple to *Vchilobo*, according as they had done in that city.

These two mountains stood opposite each other, and their habitation was in their middle.

After three years had passed since their departure from *Astla* (*sic*), from when the Mexicans came forth, as has been told, they left the place or site of the two hills where they had remained two years, after having built a temple to *Uchilogos* (*sic*), as has been said, and came to a valley where there were many great trees, which they named *Quausticaca*,³⁸ on account of the many pine trees that were there, and there they stayed a year, which completed the four years since they had left their homes.

Thence they traveled onward till they came to a place which they named *Chicomuztoque*,³⁹ and they settled there and remained nine years, and so here they completed the thirteen years from the time of their departure, and when they left there they laid the place waste ; and there was born in this place, *Tlacuxquin*, and *Mançamoyagual* and *Minaqueciguatl*, who were the two males, and one woman, their chief personages, and here was accomplished the thirteenth year of their exodus, and they began to reckon the second thirteen.

When they had departed from *Chicomuztoque* (*sic*), they came to a plain, which is the spot where at the time dwelt the *Chichimecas*, whose home was in front of *Panuco*, and here they remained three years, and to this valley they gave the name of *Guatllicamat*. At the end of the three years they went forth and came to a ranche which they called *Matlauacala*, where they dwelt three years, and erected a temple to *Vchilogs*, thence they came to another ranche, named by them near the one where the *Otomies* lived, the indigines of the land ; and here they rested five years, and erected another temple to *Vchilogs*, and here was fulfilled eleven years of the second thirteen since their departure.

From this sojourning place they came to a mountain opposite *Tula* named *Coatebeque*,⁴⁰ and when they came the *Muçeguales* held in great veneration the mantas of the five women whom *Tezcatlipuca* made, and who died the day the sun was created, as has been said, and from these mantas the afore-said five women came again to life, and wandered in this mountain, doing penance, drawing blood from their tongues and ears ; and when four years of their penance had passed by, one named *Quatlrique*⁴¹ who was a virgin, took a small quantity of white feathers and placed them in her bosom, from which she conceived without having known man, and there was born of her *Vchilogs*, for a new birth, in addition to his other nati- vities, for he was a god all-powerful, and could do whatever he wished.

And here came again to life the 400 men whom *Tezcatlipuca* created, and who died before the sun was made, and when they saw the woman was pregnant, they sought to burn her, but *Vchilogs* was born of her fully armed, and slew the whole of the 400 men ; and this the feast of his na- tivity and the slaughter of the 400 men they celebrate every year, as will be narrated in the chapter relating to their festivals ; and before the feast there is a great general fast who shall participate, lasting eighty days, during which they only eat once a day ; and these 400 men whom *Vchilo- gos* slew, the inhabitants of the province of *Ouzco*⁴² burnt up and took for their gods, and reverence them as such down to the present day, and in this way they celebrated for the first time the festival of the birth of *Vchilo- gos* and the massacre of the 400 men by him.

When thirty-three years had elapsed since their departure from their home, they went forth from *Coatebeque* and came to *Chimalcoque*, where they remained three years ; thence they came to *Ensicox*, where they dwelt another three years, and built a temple and placed the mast of *Vchilobos* (*sic*) ; and after the thirty-ninth year from their departure they

drew out the mast of *Vchilobos* (*sic*), and gave it to *Vingualti*, to carry it with the greatest veneration on their journey, and they came to *Tlemaco*, which is near to *Tula*, and raised a temple to *Vchilogos* (*sic*), and remained there twelve years, and these twelve years being passed, they departed thence and took up the mast of *Vchilogos*, and gave it to *Caçiqi* to carry. And after all this had happened, they came to *Tliltalagüia*, a well known town, and it was on the borders of *Tula*, where they rested two years and built a temple to *Vchilogos*; and after these two years the Mexicans came to the town of *Tula* itself, which in these days was peopled with its aborigines, who were the *Chichimecas*, and when they came to the said town they erected a temple to *Vchilogos*, and placed before it the candelabras that are now in use, in which they placed cepal and other savory things; and as soon as the Mexicans had come *Vchilogos* appeared to the inhabitants of the country in a black form, and they heard *Vchilogos* wailing beneath the earth, and they asked wherefore the god of the Mexicans was weeping below the ground, and the answer because every inhabitant of *Tula* was doomed to death. Four years later, an old woman, a native of *Tula*, went about giving out flags of paper fastened to rods, and making it manifest to them that they should get ready to die, because their time had come; and presently they all cast themselves upon the stone on which the Mexicans were wont to offer up their sacrifices, and the one of them who took charge of the temple which was in *Tula*, by name *Tequipuyul*, who was a stranger and a vagabond without employ, and whom they believed to be the devil, slew them all; and before the Mexicans erected their temple, that stone was a temple to the inhabitants of *Tula*; and so were put to death all the inhabitants of *Tula*, so that not one remained alive, and the Mexicans were lords of *Tula*.

Departing afterwards from *Tula* they came to the place where now stands the town of *Atotoniltengo*, where they remained one year, and thence they came to the town of *Tecuzquiciac* where they rested four years; thence they came to the town of *Apazco*, and from *Pazco* (*sic*) to *Zumpango*, where they stayed three years, and as they arrived near the town of *Qumpango* (*sic*), they encountered one sole *Chichimeca*, named *Tlavizcal Potongui*, who went out to meet the Mexicans, as he saw them coming; and they sacrificed to *Vchilogos*, god of the Mexicans another *Chichimeca*, whom they had made prisoner in battle, and they placed his head upon a pole for which reason this town is called *Zumpango*, which signifies a pole that transfixes human heads. Thence after four years they departed and came to *Tlilac*, where they tarried seven years, and leaving there, as they were on their road to *Clautitlan*, they lost one of their women who had been captured by the *Chichimecas*, and taken to *Michuacan*, and from her were born all the dwellers in *Michuacan*, who before that time were all *Chichimecas*, and they pursued their road to *Quatitlan*, where they were one year. Thence they proceeded and come to *Ecatebeque*, where they stayed one year, and when they left *Ecatebeque* (*sic*), they reached *Nepopoalco*,

which signifies a narrow passage where a shepherd can count his flocks for here they took the number of those who came; and no one knows how many there were of them, nor is there any memorial of the number in their paintings. Here they built a house to *Cipan* and to *Xincaque*, who were those who took the census of the people as they came, and from here went forth three Mexicans, one named *Navalei*, another *Tenaçi*, and the third *Chiautotolt*; and these three went forth to settle *Marinalco*, a town that exists at this day; and being there the Mexicans built a temple to *Vchilogos* at *Çimalpal*, two leagues from the City of Mexico, and then the Mexicans gave the name of *Tlatlatevique* to a mountain near *Chimalpa*, and thence they came to another mountain named *Quatitlan* which is two leagues from Mexico, where they rested four years, and thence they came to a mountain named *Visachichillan*, where at the present the inhabitants of the suburb of Santiago live, thence they came to the mountain called *Teubulco*, thence to *Tenayucan*, and here a leading Mexican died, *Tepayuca* or *Tehayuco*, which was his name, and they found a *Chichimeca* in this place for their ruler named *Tloçi*; here they raised a temple to *Vchilogos*, and sacrificed a woman and made a grand festival, taking her there highly ornamented, as was their custom when they offered up a woman-sacrifice. Having made the feast to *Vchilogos*, they departed and came to a mountain named *Tepexaquilla* where they settled for nine years; and when the nine years were passed, they descended from this mountain, and dwelt near a lofty rock which issues warm water, now known as *El Peñolcillo*, which divides the suburbs of Mexico and Santiago, and all was barren up to the said rock, and there flowed the stream of Chapultepeque, and they made a certain enclosed place of chalk and stone to keep these waters, and they dwelt by them for four years; thence they came to Chapultepeque, where they gave a direction to the stream, and placed behind it many rods with pennons such as the old woman gave to the people of Tula, when they wished to sacrifice themselves, for which see what has been already narrated; then the Mexicans ceased being in *Chapultepeque*, and went forward and came to *Tlachetongo*, which is now *San Lázaro*, near to *Tianguez* of the Mexicans, and thence they proceeded to the suburb called *Aqualcomac*, which is nigh to the said *Tianguez*, and thence to *Vetellan*, and thence to *Irocan*, which is the road of *Cuyacan*, and thence they came to *Tenculuacan*, where at the present they make salt, and thence to a mountain named *Tepetocan*, which is near to *Cuyoacan* (*sic*), and thence to *Vchilobusco*, distant two short leagues from Mexico, named *Oiavuhilat* in the *Chichimeca* tongue, because it was peopled by them, and in their religion they worship *Vbuchilti*, who was the god of water; and this god of water met* the Indian who carried the mast and plumes of *Vchilogos*, and as he did so he gave him certain arms which are those with which they slay the water fowl, and a dart; and because *Vchilogos* was left handed as well

* *Topó* means, first, to meet; second, to strike. It may be that it should read "touched."

as was the god of water, they said that it must be his son, and the four were close friends, and they changed the name of the town where they had met with him, which was formerly called *Vichilat*, so that for the future it was known as *Vchilobusco*.

CHAPTER

From thence they came to Culucan, where they found for ruler *Achitometl*, and then they passed onwards to the mountain named *Visachitla*, which stands near *Etapalapa*, and from there they came to *Quesumalc*, where they dwelt three years; and thence they went to *Capulco*, and made a detour to *Tacuxcalco*, which is the road of *Talmanalco*, where they built a temple to *Vchillogos*, and all the Mexicans assembled together at this place, *Tacuxcalco*, *Xinteca* and *Caley* and *Escualt*, being their war-chiefs, and they spoke to all the people; and because the *Chichimecas*, the aborigines of this land would not join themselves against them, but divided themselves off into many places, and in order not to be recognized altered their fashion of wearing the hair, so it was all done; because as they said *Vchillogos* had commanded them to act in this manner, and every one of those who went away, carried off his weapons, and those who remained took the plumes and deer skin of *Micoatl*, and his darts for arms, and the sack into which he was in the habit of throwing wild figs, because in those days people ate nothing else; then they kept on still farther to adjoining places in the neighborhood, and the war-chiefs addressed the people, telling them that four years they had to be dispersed, hidden and at the end of the said time they should all be reunited at *Oacaquipa*; and when the four years were passed they came together and returned to the mountain and bridge⁴³ of *Chapulteque*, and there they captured *Copil*, the son of the woman whom the *Chichimecas* had taken prisoner, whence descends the people of *Mechuacan*, and they offered him up as a sacrifice, tearing out his heart towards the sun, and they remained dwelling in *Chapulteque* fifteen years.

CHAPTER

Whilst they remained in *Chapulteque* they had three war-chiefs,⁴⁴ one named *Clautliqucçi*, son of the chief who brought them, and was known by the same name, as has been told, and *Acipa*, son of *Çipayiavichiliutl*, son of *Tlauizcal Potongui*, and they chose this latter as their ruler to rule over them, and he governed them all the fifteen years they were in *Chapulteque*. This *Vichiliutl* (*sic*), had two daughters, one named *Tuzcasuch*, and the other *Chimalasuch*; and, as we have already narrated, there was sacrificed in *Chapulteque*, a son of the woman whom the *Chichimecas* took to carry off to *Mechuacan*, whence are descended those of *Mechuacan*, so they say that in this place also the aforesaid son of the said woman came to *Mechuacan* to see two Mexicans,⁴⁵ and when they wanted to sacrifice him, he said that he was not to be sacrificed except in *Mechuacan*, where his mother was, so over that they had

a fight by command of *Vichiliutl* and *Quatlisqueçì*, and conquering him offered him up for sacrifice, and buried his heart in a place called *Temestitan*, which was a City of Mexico, afterward founded in this place, and the head they interred in *Tluchitongo*.

CHAPTER

These nine years being passed, they rested likewise twenty-five years additional in peace and quiet, *Vichiliutl* governing them, and they built on the hill of *Chapulteque* a grand temple to *Vchilogos*; and while they were here, the Mexican aborigines, who were all *Chichimecas*, joined themselves together and assaulted them, and sat down their camp to besiege them near to the southward of *Chapulteque*, and when night came on they fell upon the Mexicans and slew them, so that but few escaped by flight and took refuge among the canebrakes and recesses of the lagoon which was near by; and they burnt the temple which had been built, and the people of *Calitoca* captured the two daughters of *Vchiliutl*, and carried them away captive; and also was *Vchiliutl* taken prisoner, and the men of *Culuacan* slew him after he was captured; and those who fled and escaped were hidden for eighty days in the canebrakes, and ate nothing but herbs and vipers, and they bore with them *Vchilogos* being (*here occurs apparently a lacuna in the MS.*).

CHAPTER

We have told how the heart of *Copil*, the son of the woman who went to *Mechuacan** was interred at *Tinustitan*, and the reason why was that one day when *Coatlisqueçì* was standing beneath a hut built of branches there appeared before him *Vchilogos*, and ordered him to bury the heart in that place, for in that place was to be his home, and he went there for that reason, and was buried there.

CHAPTER

When all the aforesaid had taken place, the Mexicans who had been in hiding among the canebrakes and herbage were driven out by the great hunger they felt, and came to *Culuacan* to seek for food; and they told the people of that place when they reached there that they had come to serve them, that they should not slay them, and they prayed to *Vchilogos*, for him to give his orders that they should not be put to death; and they gave to the men of *Culuacan* the plume and the staff of *Vchilogos*, and remained in their service. In these days *Achitometl* was lord of *Culuacan*, and *Chalchiutlatonac* the chieftain, and they had a very fine temple in which the people of *Culuacan* celebrated a feast to *Qiguacoatl*,⁴⁶ the wife of the god of the infernal regions, whom the people of *Culuacan* revered as their especial god.

CHAPTER

For the space of twenty-five years the Mexicans remained under the dominion of the people of *Culuacan* during which time the people of *Cul-*

* *Mechoacan*, El tierra de pescado (Garcia, v, 325).

uacan waged warfare against the people of *Suchimilco*, and in order to prove if the Mexicans were really warriors, they ordered them to go with them to help them; and the Mexicans thinking they were regarded as women, sent ten Mexicans, and no more, with them to the war, and the remainder stayed in their houses, which they possessed in *Tiçapan*⁴⁷, at that time a domain of *Culuacan*, and they gave orders to the ten men who went, that they should not slay any of the Suchimilcans, but that they should make them captives and cut off their ears; and the ten Mexicans did as they were directed so well, that they made prisoners of eighty of Suchimilcans, and from whom they cut off the ears, and from this the men of *Culuacan* recognized that the Mexicans were men of war.

CHAPTER

At the end of the aforesaid twenty-five years the Mexicans left a temple which they had built to *Vchilogos* in *Culuacan*, and erected another very large one at *Tiçapaa*⁴⁷, and when the Culuacans saw so grand a temple they asked the Mexicans what they were going to have in that temple, and what they should place in it; to which they were answered *hearts*, and when the Culuacans heard this reply, they threw straw and filthy things into the temple, mocking at the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans^{47*} who was called *Avençi*, and sacrificed her to *Vchilogos* smeared blood on the walls with one of her legs; and when the *Culuacans* saw this sacrifice they were astounded, and arose against the Mexicans, and they all ran near to *Catitlan*, a river which flows close to *Culuacan*, and kept on flying all the way to *Nextiquipaque* in which place at this day there are ten households that are subject to Mexico, and *Ooxcoçi*, chief of *Culuacan*, looked favorably upon the Mexicans, and because they had risen against the Mexicans, he slew many Culuacans.

CHAPTER

When all the aforesaid twenty-five years already written about had elapsed, there began the first year in which they commenced to enter into the bounds of *Tenustitlan*, Mexico, and to populate it, and they came to *Istacalco*, which is a country near Mexico, and thence they went to *Mixuacan*, where a woman bore a child to which they gave this name, which signifies the fertile, and from there they settled in a suburb named *Temazcaltitlan* which signifies the suburb of the bath, and is in these days the district and suburb of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the place it said that some Mexicans who carried *Vchilogos* went astray, murmured against him, and *Vchilogos* told them in their dreams that things must be as they had been, but that they were near to the place where they were to take their final rest and home, and that those who had murmured against him had sinned like men of two faces and two tongues; and in order that they should obtain pardon, they made themselves a head with two faces and two tongues, and having made the head of it of the grains that they ate, they shot arrows at it, and covering up their

eyes, those who had shot at the figure, sought to find it, and finding it they ate it up, dividing it up among them all ; and so it was performed, and they all came together and settled in *Tatitlulco*, which was a small island, and is now known as the suburb of Santiago. In this first year in which the Mexicans came to the aforesaid place, *Vchilogos* appeared to one of them named *Tiunche*, and told him that his home was to be in this spot, and that the Mexicans would not have to wander any farther, and he should tell them that when it was morning they should go seek a man of *Culuacan*, because he had abused them, and take him and sacrifice him, and give him to the sun to eat. So *Xomemitleuts* went forth and found a man of *Culuacan* named *Chichilquautli*, and sacrificed him to the sun on going out ; and they named this place *Quanmixtlitlan*,⁴⁸ which afterwards was called *Tenustitan*, because they found there a wild fig tree grown on a stone, and the roots thereof grew forth out of the place where lay buried the heart of *Copil* as has been already narrated.

CHAPTER

In the second year of the settlement of Mexico the Mexicans began to lay the foundations of the large and important temple of *Vchilogos*, which kept on increasing at a great rate, for every ruler of the dwellers in Mexico who succeeded another in power added to it a building equally as large as the original one which the first inhabitants had erected there ; and this the Spaniards found very tall and strong and broad, and it was much to look at.

In these days the Mexicans had for their ruler *Illancueitl*, a woman of importance who had power over them ; and she was the wife of *Acamapichli*,⁴⁹ a native of *Culuacan*, and she was of *Coatlitan*, and although of *Culuacan*, descended from the Mexicans, for her mother married there one of the chief men of *Culuacan*, and the mother was a Mexican ; and her husband, at the suggestion of his wife, came to Mexico, and she told them that as he was of the best family and they had no lord, they should take him for their ruler, and so he was the first ruler, and his wife died in twenty-fourth year after the foundation of Mexico ; and after her death they chose him for lord because in her life he was only looked upon as the chief man ;⁵⁰ three years before this, which was reckoned as twenty-one years from the foundation of Mexico, the Mexicans made war upon the people of *Culuacan*, and burnt their temple. In the next year, the twenty-second from the foundation of the city, the *Culuacans* took notice of the great progress the Mexicans had made in those twenty-two previous years, and were smitten with fear, and placed their gods in a canoe with which they went to *Suchimilco* ; and when they had reached the town of *Quantlecaxtan*, the sun shone forth with so much brilliancy that his rays struck them blind, and so they could not see until they had come close to Mexico ; and when they had recovered their sight they placed their gods in Mexico, and built for them a small temple a short distance further on than the place where now stand the shambles.

In the twenty-eighth year from the foundation of the city in which the fifty-two years were fulfilled, there was held a great public festival in which all light was extinguished throughout the land, and when it was all extinct they would draw fire anew from the mountain of *Estapalapa*. This festival took place from every fifty-two to fifty-two years, so that the year that completed the four times thirteen years was the fifty-second one.

At the thirty-first year from the foundation of the city fire first began to issue forth from the volcano, and in the forty-seventh the Mexicans conquered *Tenayuca*, and burnt its temple, which was of straw, and the people of *Tenayuca* were *Chichimecas*.

In the fifty-second year of the foundation of the city the people of *Tatilulco* petitioned for a ruler *Tequomutli*, the lord of *Escapuçalco*, and he gave them for their master *Teutleuac*, whose rule did not endure forty days, for he bore too hardly upon their braves, and they helped him in no manner. *Tequcumutli*, who was a Mexican, was chosen for their lord by those of *Escapuçalco*, as one of the two which it was their custom to have, and they have always had that number, and have to this day.

Quaquanpuanaque was the second ruler of the *Tatilulcans* whom the lord of *Escapuçalco* gave them; his reign lasted fifty days, at the end of which time they fled away from him; he is represented with claws on his feet. In the fifty-third year of the foundation, *Acamapichi* was made ruler of Mexico. In the fifty-sixth year the Mexicans made war upon the *Suchimilcans*, and burnt their temple; and in the year 59 *Acamapichi* conquered *Mezquiqué*. In the year 63 from the foundation of the city there went forth from Mexico forty men and women by *Guaximalpan*, and the *Otomis* of *Matalcingo* found them, and slew them by treachery in *Cuitralavaca* (*sic*).

In the seventieth year from the foundation of the city *Acamapichi* conquered *Cuitralavaca*, and burnt for them their temple. In the seventy-third year Lord *Acamapichi* died, and they made *Vichilicci*, the son of *Acamapichi*, their ruler. In the year 75 *Miciuixiuci*, the daughter of *Escoaçi*, lord of *Quernavaca*,⁵¹ wife of *Viciliuçi*, bore *Mutiçuma*, the elder, who first was called *Iluican Minaçi*, and afterward *Mutiçuma*; because his father was lord against the will of very many people, the son changed his name into *Mutiçuma*, which signifies *angry lord*. In the year 79 a sister of *Viciliuçi* married with *Istlisuchilci*, lord of *Tezcuco*, and bore *Neçavalcuyuci*, who became lord of *Tezcuco*. In the year 81 the Mexicans conquered *Quaximalpan* from the *Otomies*.

In the year 85 from the foundation of the city the Mexicans conquered *Capiscla*, and in the same year *Quancimilco*, in the province of *Chalco*, and in the next year they waged war against all the aforesaid peoples, and in that year they gave themselves up. In the ninetieth year from the foundation they conquered *Tezquiaque*. In the ninety-second year the Mexicans sent out seven of their chieftains to ascertain if the peoples of *Puchitlan* were for war, and as they passed by *Xaltocan* three of them were treacherously made captive and murdered, and the other four escaped by

flight. In the next following year they conquered the province of *Tazcuco*, and they began upon *Tepepan*, much against the wishes of its ruler, who, when he saw them, went away and fled to *Tezmuluco*, a town of *Suyocingo*; the father (*here occurs a lacuna*) being dead, because they were at peace with the Mexicans.

In the following year 94, *Viçiluicin* died, and they took for their lord a brother of his named *Chimalpupucaçi*. In the year 97 the people of *Tuzcuco* gave themselves up to *Chimalpupucaçi*, and in the same year they captured *Tulançingo*, and the Mexicans were a whole year in making themselves masters of it. In the year 99 the people of *Tatiluco* fled to *Tula*, and as they had died out, and had left their god, named *Tlacauepan* there, so they took him and carried him to *Tatilulco*. In the year 105 from the foundation of Mexico, *Teçocumuc*, lord of *Escapuçalco*, died, and as *Maxtlato*, son of *Çocumuc* was lord of *Quinacacan* in the lifetime of his father, and as his father was now dead, he came to be lord of *Escapuçalco*; and this one gave orders that there should be a general uprising against Mexico, and when *Ximalpupacaçi* saw that the land was in rebellion, he slew himself, and being dead the Mexicans chose as their lord one of his brothers named *Izcuaçi*; and when *Tlacateulti* lord of *Tatilulcoco* saw the great force and command that the lord of *Escapuçalco* had, he fled away from him, but to no avail, for he was captured near the fountain of *Saltoca*, and there they slew them; and it was because formerly, when he was lord of *Escapuçalco*, the lord of *Tatiluco* seduced his wife, and for that reason the captive was ordered to be slain; and in this year *Neçagualcuyuci* fled from *Tezcuco*,* because the Tezcucans were in revolt against Mexico. In the following year 106, the natives of the country endeavored to make war against Mexico, by order of the lord of *Escapuçalco*, but one of the chiefs of *Escapuçalco*, named *Totolayo*, made peace with Mexico in the year 108, and the inhabitants of Mexico would not permit of a peace unless they slew the lord of *Escapuçalco*, and seeing how on account of their desire for a peace they could do no other thing, they caused him to be slain, and so it was done (*In the year 109 Tatilulco rose in revolt*), and in the year 112 they came into conflict with the Mexicans. In the next year, 113, *Quautlatoaçi*, the lord of *Tatiluco* (*sic*), revolted against Mexico, and one night in his dreams there appeared to him one of the gods they worshiped who told him he had done wrongly, and for this reason he rendered himself up at Mexico, and the Mexicans were unwilling to slay him, so they handed him over to his own people that they might put him to death, and so they killed him. In the 117 the Mexicans gained *Guautitlan*, and in the next year *Izcoaci* died, and they raised to be their lord *Mutiçuma*, the elder. In the year 125 of the foundation of Mexico, *Vchilobos* (*sic*), renewed himself, and made himself enormous.

In the 128 at the Easter-of-Bread season there fell such a terrible hail, and so much of it that the houses were destroyed and fell in ruins, and the lagoon froze up. In the year 132 there was terrible hail and famine, so much

* *Tetzcuco*, (Molina); *Tetz coco* (Buschman, 697).

so that in the next year it was ordered that if one took but a thread of maize, even if the maize field belonged to him, he should die for the act. In the year 136 *Moteçuma* the elder, having made a round buckler (or disk*) of stone, the same which Rodrigo Gomez drew forth, caused it to be buried at the door of his house, and placed a hole in the middle of it, and it was a very big hole, and in that hollow they placed the captives taken in war, fastening them to it, so that they could command only their arms, and gave them a shield and a sword of wood, and they brought in three men dressed respectively as a lion, a tiger, and an eagle, and all these fought the prisoner, and wounded him; then they took a large knife and cut out his heart; they made these knives out of stone, under this enormous large and round stone; and afterwards the others who were lords of Mexico made two other stones and placed them, each lord his own, one over the other, and the one they took away⁵², and it stands to this day underneath the baptismal font; and the other was broken up and burned when the Spaniards entered, and the very first persons who used this stone were the people of *Cuaistravaca*.

In the year 139 *Cruistravaca* was taken, and much precious stones were brought to *Muteçuma*. In the year 141 the Mexicans took *Quetlasta*. In the year 147 *Moteçuma* (*sic*), died, and *Axayacaçin*, his son, was raised to be lord. In the year 151 *Mochiuçi*, the lord of *Tutitlulco*, surrendered himself to Mexico, and in the next year the people of *Quetlastla* revolted on account of the annual tribute of twenty men, and they took refuge in a house filled with red pepper (*agí*), and consumed themselves with fire; but soon in the year 153 they were subjugated. Next year *Axayacaçi* made *Citlalcoaçi* the lord of *Malinalco*. In the year 155 *Axayacaçi* seized three men himself, and was wounded, and so he personally gained *Matalçingo*. The following year, 159, *Axayacaçi* died, and they made his brother, *Tizcoçicaçi*, lord of Mexico.

The following year, 160, they endeavored to make *Vchilobi* very large, and almost all, even to the infants, set to work on him. Next year they held a festival in the temple of *Vchilovi* (*sic*), with the blood of the *Matalçingos* and *Tlaulans*, for they slew many of them. In the year 164 *Tizcoçicaçi* died, and his younger brother *Auiçoçi* was raised to be lord of Mexico. Next year *Vchilovi* (*sic*) was finished by *Auiçoçi* and he sacrificed many people on that occasion. In 176 the water rose so high in the lake, especially the river of *Quiuacan*, that all the houses were drowned, and the water came up to the first circle of *Vchilobi*, and the houses which were of adobe fell in; and it is said that the water that rose was black and full of vipers, and it was looked upon as a miracle. In 180 *Aucoçi* (*sic*), died, and was succeeded by his brother *Muteçuma*, who was the last lord. In 182 *Muteçuma* built a temple to *Quiçalcoatla*, where, at the present time, stands the house of the bishop, and covered the roof with straw. Next year the lightning fell on it, and consumed it, 'twas said that the bolt was sped by *Tlaloque*, the god of water. They built a very large temple to the honor

* *Rodela*.

of *Qintelil*, the son of *Piciutetl*. In the year 184 the inhabitants of Mexico slew many of those of *Qoçola*, whom they had captured in war; having stretched them out on two pieces of wood in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, they shot them to death with arrows, and every year they celebrated this festival. In the 185th year from the foundation of Mexico, the fifty-two years were completed, and *Muteçuma* celebrated the festival for the last time. In the 189 there appeared an omen in the heavens, which arose from near the summit of the volcano and floated on high over the city, and it was of a white color as broad as two arms; and *Moteçuma* endeavored to discover what this thing might portend, and his wise men responded that it foretold his decease in that year, and it turned out that this was the very year in which the Christians appeared on their journey to this land. In the year 193 the *Tascalans*^{52*} laid siege to *Guaxocingo*, and they were reduced to great straits through hunger, until *Muteçuma* brought them assistance, and took some of them to Mexico, and others of them he placed there for his defence; and they prayed to *Camastle*, their god, and after that they had made an end of prayer, they rose in revolt so that the Mexicans let go their prisoners and returned to the city; and the people of *Guaxocingo* slew the Mexican women who had intermarried with the men of *Guaxocingo*, and all their sons, because they were of Mexican blood.

In the year 196 in *Guaçacalco* (*sic*), came two ships which were received at *Vera Cruz de Paz*, to spy on whom *Muteçuma* sent one of his people, and soon *Muteçuma* said that these were his gods; the ships remained at *Guaçacualco* (*sic*), and said they would return a year later;⁵³ the day they arrived at *Guaçacalco* was called *centochil*; the port of *Vera Cruz* bore the name of *Chalchuecan*. In the year 197 came the Marquis to New Spain to whom *Muteçuma* sent an envoy to *Vera Cruz* with many shields and plumes, and a sun made of gold, and a star of silver; they made themselves understood by the Indians by means of an interpreter named *Marina*.⁵⁴ Afterwards the Marquis came to *Cempoal*, where they received him with trumpets. Thence he proceeded to *Tascala*, where the warriors sallied forth to battle, and all who came forth were slain; and he being informed that the *Tascalans* desired to massacre the *Chululans*, he joined with them in another place and slew them all. It is said that whilst the Marquis was in *Chulula*, he sent *Alvarado* to the province of *Chalco*, who returned with the information that the land and the people were both bad, and that he should turn back; on which *Tamaya*, the lord of *Cempoal* said that he had better march to Mexico, where *Muteçuma* lived very richly, and that everything he owned was made of gold, and that he styled himself lord. The Marquis was forty days in *Chulula*. Then there came on the behalf of *Muteçuma*, *Viznagual*, the father of *Tapia*, who was with the Marquis, to tell him by the orders of *Muteçuma*, that he would give him much gold and silver if he would turn home again; him the Marquis caused to be seized which caused great fear to *Muteçuma*. (In this year 198 was held the festival of *Vchilobi*), and *Muteçuma* died from the effect of a blow with a stone thrown by one of his

own subjects, who would not listen to him, but used opprobrious language to him; and they put in their *Vchilobi* beams, and the bravest soldiers whom the Spaniards were unable to rescue when they left the city, and who were all put to death. One night the Marquis left the city and went to Tascula, where he was received by its lord, *Xicotenga*.

On the death of *Muteçuma*, the Mexicans chose for their lord *Quitlavaçi*, lord of *Etlapalapa*, a brother of *Muteçuma*, he ruled eighty days, the smallpox⁵⁵ broke out throughout all the Indians, and many perished before they returned to subjugate the city.

The Marquis came to *Tezcucó* having conquered all the land in its vicinity, and the people of Chalco made war on it; while he was in *Tezcucó*, *Guatemuca*, son of *Vicoçi*, was chosen lord, and he made war on Chalco, and without cause he slew six of their chiefs (in the year 199). It took the Marquis eighty days to conquer his way to Mexico. The Marquis made *Istisuchl* lord of Mexico, who in the year 200 died, lord of *Tezcucó*, and *Juan Velasquez*, deposed him, and reigned eighty days. *Guatemuca* was made lord of *Tatilulco* (year 201), and presently sent to all the surrounding people to call them to a war against Mexico; and these people came at once and informed *Juan Velasquez* of the matter, and he said it made no odds to him, for he was not its lord. The Marquis left new Spain in peace and went to Honduras (called in Indian *Guaimula*), and left his subordinate deputy, *Peralmildez*, as Captain-General, and returned to Castile. Don *Martin*, son of *Muteçuma* (year 202), and the deputy who were named in place of the Marquis, made requisitions on the Mexicans for gold and silver, and they put to the torture one Rodrigo De Paez, because he would not tell where the Marquis kept his gold and valuables, and finally as he would not give them the information, they hung him (year 203); when the Marquis returned, he seized the factor and overseer, but did not punish them as they had deserved, but sent them back to Spain (year 204). The Marquis made *Tapia*, Governor of Mexico, his Deputy, and in this year 295, *Nuño de Guzman* came to Panuco. The Marquis departed for Castile. In the year 206 there were rains of bloody drops, and it was the Sabbath about two o'clock, and everybody saw them, and in this year there appeared an omen in the sky of a white color, and shaped like a lance. In the year 207 *Nuño de Guzman* left for *Neuva Galicia*, and the four councillors of Castile came, *Salmeron*, *Maldonado*, *Çainos* and *Quiroga*,⁵⁶ they made Don *Pablo*, Governor.

[NOTE BY H. P., JR.—Here follows what should have been a chapter by itself, being entirely disconnected from the subject already treated of. The historical part has come to an end, and this seems like an addition by another hand, being somewhat of a repetition of matters previously touched upon.]

They calculate their year from the March equinox, when the sun casts a direct shadow, and as soon as they can notice that the sun is beginning to rise⁵⁷ they count it as the first day, and from the twenty to twenty days, which make their months; they reckon their year, with five days omitted, so their year only comprises 360 days; and from the day which was the

equinox they reckon the day of their feasts, and so the feast of bread, which was the day of the nativity of *Vchilobi* from the plume, was the day when the sun was in declination, and so as to the other festivals.

The Mexican Indians believed that in the first heaven there was a star, *Qitalmene*,⁵⁸ which was a woman, and *Tetal Latorras* (*sic*), who was a male, whom *Tenacatecli* (*sic*) made for guardians of the skies, and the woman never is seen because she is on the road that the heavens make.

In the second (*heaven*) they say there are certain women who have no flesh whatever, but are all bones, named *Teçauçigua*,⁵⁸ and otherwise called *Qicimine*; and that these are placed there so that when the world comes to end, their duty will be to eat up all the men.

And when the old people are asked when the end of the world shall come, they say they don't know unless it is when the gods themselves shall all become extinct, and *Tlazquillepuca* (*sic*) shall carry away the sun, and then all things shall pass away.

In the third (*heaven*) are the 400 men whom *Tezcatlapuca* (*sic*) created, and who were of five colors, yellow, black, white, blue and red, so these kept ward in the heavens.²³

In the fourth were all manner of birds who from thence descended to the earth.

In the fifth were vipers of fire, whom the *Fire-god* had made, and from them issue the comets and omens of the heavens.

In the sixth were all the winds.

The seventh was full of dust which thence came down on earth.

In the eighth all the gods came together, and from there no one could ever ascend higher, to where dwelled *Tenacatli* (*sic*) and his wife; and no one knows what is in the rest of the upper heavens.

Being questioned as to the sun's whereabouts, they replied that he dwelt in the air, and traveled in daytime and not at night, because he returned to the east when he had reached the summit at midday, and that his light then was that which already shone forth towards his setting-place; and that the moon is always traveling after the sun, and never catches up with him.

Being questioned as to the matter of thunder and lightning, they said that the Water-god had many subjects made by him, who carried each one an earthen money-jug¹³ and a rod, and that from these earthen vessels they cast down the rain, and that the thunder was when they struck the vessels with their rods, and that the lightning flashed from these vessels.

The people of *Culuacan* say that they came, conjointly with the Mexicans, to Tula, and there they split and went direct to *Culuacan*, and thence to *Suchimilco* and *Malinalco* and *Ocuyla*. These four towns they settled and on the way peopled *Cuitralavaca*, and so 120 years passed away, and afterwards the Mexicans came and arrived at Chapultepec, as has been said, and waged war on the people of *Culuacan*.

In the histories of Mexico, represented by Indian paintings, are shown many naked Indians, at whose beginning are some clothed in plants,

thereby meaning to convey that when they fled to Mexico they were dressed in that manner, and that they subsisted on what they could obtain by fishing, and that they had to undergo great hardships ; and they paint no more valiant warriors. And these were forty years without a lord. The first lord of the Mexicans was named *Acamapichil*, who lived twenty years. In this time it happened that two women misbehaved,⁵⁹ the one with the other, and they stoned them to death close to *Escapuçalco*, which is called *Teculuapa* ; before this judicial act was performed, the lord of *Escapuçalco* reported it to him of *Guatlinchan*, and the two reported it to the lord of Mexico, and all of them ordered it to be done. And likewise came to pass that *Xilot Iztac*, daughter of *Anil Mixtli*, was married to the brother of the lord of *Ascapuçalco* (*sic*), and when he died his brother, the lord of *Ascapuçalco*, took her for his wife ; and she went off to Suchimilco, and did wickedness with Ananacalt, and when it became known to the three lords, they took them and stoned them to death. They say it was the custom that a brother's widow could not lawfully remarry except with a surviving brother, and if she married any one else she forfeited her lands and all her possessions. The first lord of *Ascapuçalco* was named *Teçoçomuchi*.

At this very same time it came to pass that two lads stole the grains of maize that had been sowed in the earth, and they were taken and sold for slaves, and the price paid for each one was five mantas.

And in these days it happened that a woman stole certain maize from a granary, and a man saw her and told her that if she would let him lie with her he would not inform on her, and she did so ; but afterwards the man accused her of the deed, and the woman confessed all that had taken place, whereupon she was acquitted, and the man was given as a slave to the owner of the maize.

At this time it happened that two lads robbed five ears of maize before it had ripened, and they were ordered to be hung, as it was a greater crime to take them before they were mature than afterwards. And when the first lord of Mexico was dead, the Mexicans remained three years without a ruler, after which they chose *Viçiliutli*, son of their first lord, who lived twenty-five years. In his time it came to pass that a man of Tezcucó kept a watch over his wife, and three days after her confinement he caught her with the sacristan of the temples, and he seized them and the three lords condemned them to death. And it also happened that a man found his wife with another man, slew the man and not the woman, and she came back to live with her husband, for which reason both she and he were put to death.

When the second lord died the Mexicans chose *Chimalpupuca* for their ruler, who lived eleven years. In the days of this third lord it happened in *Chimaloacan* that a woman saw a drunken man and went to him and lay with him, and for this they stoned the woman, but inflicted no punishment whatever upon the man.

And at this time it happened that a man of *Tenayuca* had a granary of

maize, and a man from *Guatliltlan* robbed him by an enchantment cast upon it, for he fell into a deep sleep by this contrivance, and the man and his wife took all they found; and when this was known to the three lords they were both condemned to death, the man and his wife.

He who stole a hen was enslaved, but he who took a dog was not punished, for they said that the dog had teeth wherewith to defend itself.

When the third lord died the Mexicans elected to that power *Izcoaçi*. And at this time the *Escapuçalcans* commenced a war against the Mexicans, and called on the people of Tezcuco and *Tultitlan*, *Quautitlan*, *Tenayuca*, *Tlacuba*, *Atlacubaya*, *Cuhuacan*, *Culiacan*, *Suchimilco*, *Cuillavaca*, and *Mizquique*; all these peoples marched against Mexico, and were vanquished.

Whilst the Mexicans were ruled by lords that part of *Tatilulco*, which now is known as *Santiago*, was likewise under rulers, for whilst *Acamapichil* and *Vichiliuitli* reigned in Mexico, which was for forty years, in *Tatilulco* ruled *Quaquapuauaque*, the father of the lord of *Escapulcalco*; this latter was for two years ruler of Mexico before they had a lord in Mexico; he lived forty years. And while there ruled in Mexico *Chimalpupuçi* and *Izcoaçi*, there reigned in *Tatilulco*, *Tlacateuçi*, son of the first, who lived twenty-three years. Whilst *Muteçuma* the elder reigned in Mexico, in *Tatilulco* ruled *Quatlatloaçi*, son of *Tlatecuçi*, and he slew the former, and lived thirty years. Whilst in Mexico ruled *Axayacaçi*, in *Tatilulco* ruled *Moquiniçin*, brother of the last, and married to the sister of *Axayacaçi*, and on her account there was war between the two because she gave out her husband was a man of war who had conquered the Cotastans and Mexicans, and on that account his neighbors hired his services. Whilst *Teçicicaçi* ruled in Mexico, in *Tatilulco* ruled *Ouacoizçicçi*, *Tucaxcal Tecli* and *Tlaneloquiçi*, and *Tatilulco*. Whilst *Auçoçi* ruled in Mexico, in *Tatilulco* reigned *Çiquac Pupucu*, who was the son of *Tucatecal*, and son of *Quatlatloaçij*, and *Yulocoauçi*. Whilst in Mexico *Muteçuma* then reigned, in *Tatilulco* there ruled *Topantemitçi*, *Ticoque* and *Aguatal*, grandson of *Muquiniçi* and *Yzeiaçi* *Tucuxcalcotlequinat*, and this one could not^{59*} with *Muteçuma*. While *Muteçuma* and *Juan Velazquez* and *Tapia* were governors of Mexico, he who at first was not a chief personage in the time of the Marquis, *Don Juan*, was governor of *Tatilulco*, the father of him who is governor to-day, and he was a common man and maçegual of Mexico.

They held certain laws in war which they executed in grand style; and it was the custom that if the captains sent out a messenger and he did not tell the truth he died for that; and likewise they had another law that any one who should give advice to their adversaries should die for it; and likewise they slew any man who lay with a captive woman, and likewise he who was captured alive was slain. And if one captured a prisoner alive and another tried to rescue him, it was punished with death. In war-time they had five captains who at the same time were judges. There was a person who hunted up crimes and painted them, and gave the

information to the five lords jointly, and after consultation with the chief lord there were other five who carried into execution what the five had decreed.

There were other laws in their Tianguetz or fairs which are as follows : If the son of the lord turned out a gambler and a swindler (*tahur*), and sold his father's possessions or other portion of land, he was secretly choked to death, and if he was a *maçegual* or fisherman, he was sold into slavery. Likewise, if one stole *magueys* to the number of twenty to make honey, they should pay as many *mantas* as the judges should ordain, and if the party did not own sufficient or if there were more *magueys*, he or they became a slave or slaves. Whoever should borrow *mantas* as a loan, and neglect to repay them, should be a slave. A theft of a fishing net was to be paid for in *mantas*, and if the party did not own them he became a slave. If one stole a canoe or vessel in which people went, he should pay the value of the canoe in *mantas*, and if he had not enough he became a slave. If a man lay with a woman slave who was under age he became a slave also with her, and if she became sick and died, he became a slave, and if she did not die he paid for her cure.

If any one brought a slave to *Escapuçulco*, where there was a slave mart, and the purchaser gave *mantas* for him, and the seller unfolded them and was content with them, if afterward he rued his bargain he should return the *mantas*, but the slave became free. If any one did not grow up to natural size, and the relations sold him, and it was known afterwards, when he had come of age, the judges should order as many *mantas* to be paid as to them seemed fit to give his owner, and the slave became free. If a slave woman fled away and was sold to another person, upon its being discovered, she should return to her master and the price be lost that was paid for her.

If a man lie with a slave, and she dies, being pregnant, he shall become the slave of her master, but if she conceive and bring forth a child, the child is free, and shall belong to its father.⁶⁰ If any conspire to sell a free-man for a slave, and the fact become known, all who took part in the affair shall become slaves, and one of them shall be given to the purchaser, and the others be divided between the mother of the person wrongfully enslaved, and the informer who discovered the transaction. Any persons who administer potions with intent to procure death shall be strangled for the same, but if the person murdered was a slave, the murderer shall become the slave of his master. If any one shall steal as much as twenty *arribas* of maize, he shall die for it, but if less he shall be redeemed by a ransom.

He who steals unripened maize shall be beaten to death with rods. He who steals the *yetecomatl*, a species of gourd fastened with thongs, and worn on the head with tufts of feathers, such as the lords wear, sprinkled with green tobacco, he who steals it shall be garroted to death. He who steals a *chalchui*, which was a string with certain computations forbidden to be owned by men of low degree, shall be stoned to death in the

Tianguetz, wherever he may be. And he who in the *Tianguetz*⁶¹ shall steal anything from the dwellers within the *Tianguetz*, shall be stoned to death. Highway robbers were also to be publicly stoned to death. Any priest who got drunk was to be slain in the house where he became intoxicated, and to be beaten to death with clubs; and the marriageable youth who got drunk was taken to a house known as *tepuxcali*, where he was choked to death; and any person of importance who held public office and got drunk, was deprived of his position, and if he was a warrior they took away from him the title of *valiant man*. If a father lay with his daughter, both were to be strangled to death by a rope passed around both their throats. He who lay with his sister was to be strangled with the garrote, a crime they considered detestable; and if one woman lay with another, they strangled them with the garrote. If a pontiff was found with a woman, they slew him secretly with the garrote or burned him alive, tearing down his house, and forfeiting all his possessions, and all who knew the matter and kept silence about it and concealed it, were likewise put to death. There was no punishment for adulterers unless they were taken *in flagrante delictu*, in which case when caught they were stoned to death publicly.

CHAPTER TH.

Whence originated the Lords of Tochimilco.

The beginning of these lords was one *Yzcocutl* who came from *Tula*, and dwelt in *Atlixco* where they received him for their ruler, and afterwards he left them and settled in *Xuctectitl* and *Vepevecan*, now known as *Tuchomilco*, and there he died. His wife was named *Chimalmaçì*, and likewise she came from *Tula*. On his death his son *Tonaltemitl* succeeded him, whose wife was *Çalpaloci*, a native of *Petlauca*. On his death *Çintlavilçì* succeeded to his father's power, his wife was *Teyacapançì*; he was a native of *Cuyuacan*, and left sons, who, however, did not inherit his position.

On *Çintlavilçì's* death his two brothers, named *Ysteveyuçì* and *Çivacoaçì* succeeded him in reign, and they held equal powers; their wives were natives of *Vcpellavaca*. On the death of these two lords they were followed in their seignory by two others, *Oucamaçì* and *Civacoaçì*; *Cacamaçì* was uncle of *Civacoaçì*, who was the son of *Ysteveyuçì*, and their wives were natives of *Vcpellavaca*. On the death of these two lords, *Quapili* succeeded to the throne, and he was a grandson of *Civacvacì*; who was lord before the other two; and *Quapili*, while still living, made his son, *Mixcoaci*, ruler of a certain portion of the people; the wives of the father and son were from *Petlauca*, and in the days of these came the *Xpianos*.* When these were dead, Don *Miguel* and Don *Juan* succeeded them, of whom Don *Miguel* was the more powerful; and he came to the seignory, because his uncle was *Quapili*, and the former came forth in peace to the Christians, while the latter fled away. The Marquis made him lord with the consent of the people. Don *Juan* was his brother *Mixcoaci*, and for

* Meaning Christians?

this reason succeeded to the seignory; the wife of Don *Miguel* was of *Quizuquechula*, and that of Don *Juan* of *Aupellavaca*.

Of the Manner in which they Reckon their Months and Days.

It is to be remarked that they consider twenty days as their week or month, counting in both the first and the last as being but one day, as if we should say there were eight days in the week, reckoning Sunday as both first and last. Also they count time from four years to four years, because they do not number their years higher. Also (*a lacuna*, * *)

In these festivals when the sacrifice is offered by the pontiffs,⁶² they cover up their heads with certain white mantas on which they arrange white plumes, I mean on their heads, and they robe themselves in a painted shirt open in front, and in this manner they sacrifice.

APPENDIX.

Annotations and Corrections to the Codex Ramirez.

¹ *Tonacatectli*, called by Brinton (who follows the classical authorities) *Tonacatecutli* and his wife *Tonacacihuatl*. The name *Tonacatecutli* is supposed to signify Lord of our Existence, and *Tonaca Cihuatl* to mean Queen of our Existence. (Vide Am. Hero Myths, p. 73 and note.)

² There were two *Tezcatlipocas*, the red and the black, of whom the myths blended. (Brinton, A. H. M., 73.) The names of these four brothers are differently stated by various authors. *Tezcatlipoca-Camaxtli* was the spirit of darkness (eo. lib., 68). (*The shining mirror*.) Stone seats were placed around the streets for him to repose on, on which no native ever dared to sit. *Clavigero*, 1, 244.

His principal image was *Teotell* (divine stone), black and shining like marble and richly dressed. He was called by Herrera (III, II, ch. xv) *Tezcatlipuca*; by Boturini (p. 11) *Tezcatlipoca*; by Garcia (IV, 300) *Tlezcatipuca*; *Titlacauan* was also one of his common names, meaning "we are his slaves." (A. H. M., 106.)

Of the three names, the one given by Boturini is correct. According to Mendoza (*Anales de Museo Mexicano*), the meaning of the word is brightness, darkness and smoke, being the silver resplendency of the moon illuminating the darkness of the night, breaking through a smoke-like obscurity.

Brinton (Am. Hero Myths, p. 71), leans to the more generally received interpretation of smoky mirror (from *Tezcapoctli*), meaning the rising of the mist from the surface of the waters. *Tezcatlipoca* was the god of gods, compared by Garcia to Jupiter, the supreme invisible essence, "the most sublime figure in the Indian Pantheon" (Brinton, lib. cit., 69); also the youth, omnipotent, exacting of prayer, creator and disposer of men; the enemy, the worker and night wind. The divine Providence according to Boturini. See note 7.

³ *Camaxtli*. Also called *Teotlamacàzqui* (the hieroglyphic of the priests). *Tezcatlipoca-Camaxtli* the spirit of darkness. (American Hero Myths, Brinton, ch. 3, p. 68.) *Titlacàhuan*, we are thy slaves. (Bot. xi.) (Cf. Note 27).

⁴ *Quatzalcoatl* (Bot. II.) Herrera 3, 3, xiv. *Quetzalcoatl* (Brinton A. H. M.), passim. *Quetzalcohuatl* (Bot. 25) hieroglyphic of the Air. *Quetzalcoatl* (Garcia, IV, VII, 262), was a "white man with a beard, of industry and intelligence, who fled from the tyranny of Huemac (*the great hand*), King of Tula, and took refuge at Cholulla. He is the spirit of light and culture, ever engaged in a continual warfare with his brother, *Tazcatlipoca*, the spirit of darkness. (A. H. M.)

Quetzalcoatl (*Clavigero*, 1, 248), "feathered serpent," god of the air.

Vetancourt (*Clav.* 1, 250). *Coatl*, a twin, *Quetzalli*, a gem.

Queçalcoatl, por otro nombre yagualiecatl. The name was applied to him in his relation to the winds, whose ruler he was, the words *Yahualli ecatl*, meaning "the Wheel of the Winds." *Yahualli* is from the root *yaua*l or *yua*l, circular or round, and the towers where he was worshiped were of this form. (A. H. M., 121.)

⁵ *Om tecill*. Qy. Ometochtli (two rabbits), the god of wine.

Omiticuilt. Clavigero I, 245.

Ometeuctli and *omichuatl*, god and goddess residing in heaven, propitious to mortals. Also known as *Citlallatonac* and *Citlalicue*.

⁶ *Moyocoya*, or more properly *moyocoyatzin*, is the third person singular of the verb *yocoya*, to do, with the respectful or reverential termination *tzin* (A. H. M., 70), meaning "he who acts or does." Ramirez translates it as "the omnipotent" (*todo poderoso*); Brinton, the determined doer. The title is given him in reference to his demiurgic power.

⁷ Evidently an error for the terrible war-god, Huitzilopochtli. (Boturini 27; Herrera III, III, 17, *Vitzilipuztli*. Lorenzana, I. Huitzilo-potzli.)

In the sixteenth century it was customary to express the same sound indiscriminately by *Vi* and *Hui*. (Orozco y Berra. Anales II, i, 71.)

Garcia (IV, 300) Huitzilopuctli answers to Mars. In this author the name occurs most frequently as *Vitzilipuctli*.

Vehilobos. Clavigero (Cullen I, 254). Huitzilin, a humming bird. *Opochtli*, left.

Boturini wrong. The Spaniards, unable to pronounce the name, usually called him Huichilobos. Orozco y Berra (Anales II, I, p. 71), thinks that of all the forms *Vitziliutl* is the most correct.

⁸ (Çipactonal, Boturini 46, the father superior to the son.) Çipastonal and Uxumuco, more properly *Çipactonal* and *Oxomuco*. (Oxomozco, Boturini, p. 46), whose names have not been as yet satisfactorily explained. "Tonal is no doubt from *tena* to shine, and *cipactli* * * * from *chipauac*, beautiful or clear. (A. H. M., 74. Vide Chavero, Anales, II, 116.)

⁹ Malze. Maize was the emblem of *Centeotl*, goddess of cereals, who was the same as *Xilomen* (from *Xilotl*, a young grain of maize). She was also the same as *Tzazolteotl*, the Venus vaga, goddess of impure love. L'Ecriture hieratique Maya par Leon de Rosny, p. 185.

¹⁰ Tlalocatectli. *Tlaloc* was, according to Boturini (p. 72), the second deity and quasi minister of the Divine Providence. Brinton (A. H. M., 75, 123) considers him as the god of darkness; his name being, according to some, wine of the earth. Tlal (*tlalli*, earth) oc (*ocqui*), wine of the maguey plant; according to others, dweller on earth, *tlalli* (the earth) and *onac* (being).

The name according to Brinton (A. H. M., 123) should be Tlalocotecutli, lord of the wine of the earth.

Garcia (IV, II, 139, ch. vii) Tlalocatecutli is the god of water; Tlaloc (IV, VIII, II, 143).

Clavigero I, 251. Tlaloc, god of water; he resided on the highest mountains where the clouds are formed

¹¹ Chalchiuhcueitl (Boturini 25). La della Saya de Piedras preciosas, hieroglyphic of water; is generally shown with reeds. Probably took her origin among canebrakes. Cf. Venus sprung from the Sea.

Chalchiuitlicue, Chalchihuitlicue, Brinton, (A. H. M., 123, p. 75). From Chalchihuitl, jade. Cueitl, skirt, petticoat. Cf. *Kilt*.

If Tlaloc was the god of water and tropical rains, may not his wife have signified the verdant results from his beneficial showers.

Chalchihuitlicue. Clavigero (tr. Cullen I, 240), goddess of water, 252. The high priest wore the same habit in which they represented her as the goddess of water. Cf. p. 252, for names given by Torquemada and Boturini.

Chalchihuitlique was the goddess of water and companion of Tlaloc. Torquemada calls her *Xochiquetzal*, and Boturini, *Macuixochiquezalli* (Clavigero I, 252). According to the Codex *Telleriano-Remensis*, *Chalchiutli* saved herself from the

deluge. Her name signifies "The woman adorned with a dress of precious stones. According to Sahagun she was the sister of the Tlalocs, the rain gods (Codex Troano, 102).

Chalchiuhtteuh, *a modo de Esmeralda*. Sandoval, Gram. Mex., 53.

¹² *Alcançia*, literally, a money-jug of earthenware.

¹³ *Hunchback*. It was the custom among the Aztec lords to have among their attendants for their diversion hunchbacks, just as the Mediæval barons had in their train their fools and jesters. The sacred cavern was that of *Cincalco*.

Quetzalcoatl was followed in his passage of the Sierra Nevada by hunchbacks, who mostly froze to death (A. H. M., 115). These formed part of the suite of the last Montezuma. They were interred with their Caciques. (Herrera II, 165.) *Chalco*, seems to be derived from *Challi*, an emerald. Buschman, 689.

¹⁴ Called Cipagli in preceding part of the chapter.

Cipactli (A. H. M., 74, 126) the great fish. Cf. the fish *Oannes* in the Chaldæan mythology, *Dagon* of the Philistines and Phœnicians, *Pisces* of the Syrian and Egyptian Zodiac; supposed to be sun myths, the sun rising out of the East.

Cipoconal and Oxomuco, the first created pair, qy. *pisces* of the Zodiac, &c. Note 9. Chavero (Anales I, VII, 245) considers Cipactli the first light below the horizon.

Jesus is represented as a fish, because the Messiah in the Talmud is called *Dag*, i. e., the fish. King's Gnostic's and their remains, 138.

¹⁵ Tlalteccli, the earth, from tlalli, the earth.

¹⁶ The wife of this son was made of the hairs of the divine mother of the four brethren—gods, whose name was Xochiquetzal (Beautiful rose). (A. H. M., 73, 74.)

¹⁷ Garcia (*Origin de los Indios*, V, IV, 327), gives a different account of the creation of which the following is a résumé:

"At the distance of a league and a half from *Guaxaca*, in an Indian settlement named *Cuilapa*, there is a convent of my order whose Vicar, at the time of my coming there, owned a MSS. volume, * * * written in the figures used by the Mexicans, and with the explanations thereof, setting forth the origin and creation of the world, and the deluge, &c. This book I tried by all manner of means to obtain, but the holy father set too great a store on it to part with it, but permitted me to make such extracts from it as I desired.

"In the year and in the day of darkness and clouds, before there were any days or years, the world was plunged into total obscurity, and all was chaos and confusion; the earth was covered with the waters, and there was nothing but mud and débris over the face of the globe. In these days there appeared visible to sight a god whose name was the stag (*Ciervo*), and whose surname was Lion-viper (*Culebra de lion*), and a very charming and beautiful goddess, whose name was likewise *Ciervo*, and whose surname was Tiger viper (*Culebra de tigre*). From these divinities originated all the other gods of the Indians. As soon as these two gods appeared they took on human shape, and being omnipotent and omniscient, they founded a huge rock (*Peña*), on which they built sumptuous palaces, made with the greatest art, where was their home, and their abode on earth; and on the summit of the most lofty part of the palaces, there stood an axe of copper with its edge upwards, upon which the heavens rested. This rock and the palaces of the gods were on a very lofty mountain peak (*Cerro*) near the pueblo of Apoala, in the Province known as *Mixteca Alta*. This rock, in the language of that people, bore for its name *The-place-where-the-heaven-was*, by which they meant to express that it was the Paradise and abode of all manner of pleasure and happiness, and where there was an abundance of everything that was good, and where not the slightest element was ever lacking to complete felicity. This place was where the gods abode at their first coming on earth, where they remained many ages in quiet and contented rest, as the locality was so pleasant and charming, but the world was all in darkness and clouds. * * * Of these gods, the father and mother of

all the other divinities, in their palaces and court, were born two sons, very beautiful, shrewd and learned in all the arts and sciences. The first was called *The-wind-of-the-nine-vipers*, which he took from the name of the day on which he was born; the second received the appellation of the *Wind-of-the-nine-caverns*, that being likewise the name of the day on which his nativity occurred. These two youths were brought up in great pomp. The elder when he would amuse himself, took the form of an eagle and went flying through the highest skies, the second transformed himself into a tiny animal in the form of a winged snake, with which he flew through the air with so great a velocity and subtlety that he penetrated the hardest rocks, and became invisible. The effect of which was that those who were over his head could hear the noise and turmoil that was made below. The meaning of these figures was to exhibit the power that these gods possessed of transforming themselves and of their returning to their own shapes.

"These brothers then remained in their paternal home, living in comfort and peace; they bethought themselves that they would make an offering and sacrifice to the gods, their parents, to effect which they took censers of clay with burning embers upon which they cast a certain quantity of ground poison in lieu of incense. This, say the Indians, was the first offering ever made in the world. After they had made this oblation, the brothers created a pleasure garden for their recreation, in which they placed trees and flowers, fruits and roses, sweet-smelling plants and other varieties of vegetation. Here in this garden and orchard, they refreshed and recreated themselves all the time and they made near it another pleasure-ground (*Prado*), in which were stored all manner of things necessary for the oblations and sacrifices which they had to make and offer to the gods, their parents.

"Whenever these brothers left the house of their parents, they disported themselves in this garden, taking care of the trees and plants, and seeing to their increase and preservation, and offering from time to time the aforesaid oblation of poison, &c. They prayed to their parents at the same time, making vows and promises, and supplicating them by virtue of the oblation which they were offering, and through the other sacrifices they gave them, that they would think well of creating a heaven, and that they should shed a light upon the world, that they should create the earth, or rather let the waters sink and the dry ground appear, for that they had no other abode and resting place than the narrow limits of their garden and orchard. And still more to force the gods to accede to their request, the suppliants pierced their ears with lancets of flint, drawing blood from them in torrents. This they did also to their tongues, and with the blood they sprinkled the branches and trunks of the trees by means of a sprinkler made of the branches of the willow tree as a thing holy and blessed. This action they performed to show their entire submission to the will of their parents whom they regarded as being greater gods than themselves. * * * These gods had children * * * after which there was a general deluge in which many of the gods were drowned. When this had ceased, the creation of the heavens and the earth was begun by a god whom they name *Creator of all things*, who restored the human race, from which was populated the *Mixtec* kingdom."

18 OF THE MEXICAN YEAR.

Boturini 2.

1 Tecpatl,	(pebble)
2 Acatl,	(reed)
3 Tochtli,	(rabbit)
4 Calli,	(house)

Gemelli (Anales I, 7, 299).

1 Calli
2 Acatl
3 Tecpatl
4 Tochtli

Veytia agrees with Boturini, and Orozco y Berra (Anales I, 7, 299), accepts their arrangement and nomenclature.

The eighteen months of the year are named as follows:

NAMES OF THE MONTHS.

(Lorenzana, 2.)		Orozco y Berra (Anales I, VII, 294).
1. Atemoztli	(water month)	1. Itzcalli, Xochilhuitl.
2. Tititl	(things even and just)	2. Xilomanalztli, atlacahu- alco, Cuahuitlehua, Ci- huailhuitl.
3. Yzcalli	(new creation)	3. Tlacaxipehnaliztli, cohu- ailhuitl.
4. Xilomanizte	(offerings of the new maize)	4. Tozoztontli.
5. Coanilhuitl	(grand festival of the viper)	5. Hueytozoztli.
6. Tozcotzintli	(lesser fast)	6. Toxcatl, Tepepocheuiliztli.
7. Huey Tozcoztli	(greater fast)	7. Etzalcua liztli.
8. Toxcatl	(dangerous for the fields)	8. Tecuil Nuitzintli.
9. Ezalqualliztle	(eating of dry fruits)	9. Huey tecnilhualt.
10. Tecuilhuitzintli	(feast of the youthful cava- liers)	10. Micailhuitzuitli, Tlaro- chimaco.
11. Huey Tecuithuitl	(feast of elder lords)	11. Huey micail huitl, Xoco- tlhuetzi.
12. Micta ilhutzintli	(lesser feast of the dead)	12. Ochpaniztli, Tenahuati- liztli.
13. Huey mictail huit	(greater feast of the dead)	13. Pachtli, Teotleco.
14. Ochpaniztli	(broom)	14. Hueypachtli, Tepelhuitl.
15. Pachtlizintli	(early grains)	15. Quecholli.
16. Hueypachtli	(grains and large trees)	16. Panquetzaliztli.
17. Quecholli	(the flamingo?)	17. Atemoztli.
18. Panquetzallitzli	(pennons or banners)	18. Tititl.

DAYS OF THE MONTHS.

Lorenzana (2)	Chavero (Anales I, VII, 245).
Cipactli (serpent)	1. Cipactli (the first light from be- low the horizon)
Ehecatl (air)	2. Ehecatl (the wind)
Calli (house)	3. Calli
Cueztupallin (lizard)	4. Cuetzpalin
Cohuatl (viper)	5. Cohuatl
Miquitzli (death)	6. Miquitzli
Mazatl (deer)	7. Mazatl
Tochtli (rabbit)	8. Tochtli
Atl (water)	9. Atl
Ytzcuintli (a common dog)	10. Itzeuintli
Ozmatli (a she ape)	11. Ozomatli
Malinalli (a mesh of cords)	12. Malinalli
Acatl (reed)	13. 1. Acatl

Then follows the second group:

Ocelotl (tiger)	14. 2. Ocelotl
Quaotli (eagle)	15. 3. Cuauhtli
Temtlatl (grindstone)	16. 4. Cozacacuauhtli
Quiahuitl (rainy water)	17. 5. Ollin.
Xochitl (flower)	18. 6. Tecpatl
	19. 7. Quiahuitl
	20. 8. Xochitl

¹⁰ *Cintrococopi*, qy. from *cinlli*, spindles (Mazorcas), full of dry and cured maize and *cocopatic*, something that burns the mouth greatly. (*Molina sub vocibus*.)

²⁰ The story of the falling down of the heavens appears among the myths of Samoa, where two trees are reported to have grown up and pushed them into proper place. The natives of *Vaitupu* have a tradition in which two of the sons of the first couple "distinguished themselves by raising the heaven higher." In *Nikundu*, the legend runs of an universal darkness in the beginning of all things and that the heavens were down and resting upon the earth until raised by two brothers. (Samoa, by George Turner, pp. 198, 283, 291.)

²¹ The two trees into which the gods changed themselves; more properly, *Tezcaquahuitl*, the tree of the warrior. *Quetzalveixochitl*, the beautiful rose tree. —A. H. M., 75.

²² *Mixcoatl*, a name of *Tezcatlipoca*. Brinton, A. H. M., 84. *Iztac Mixcoatl* (A. H. M. 92), white-cloud, twin.

²³ Four hundred men created. Brinton considers them to be the stars, especially as they later were translated to the sky. *Codex Chimalpopoca* (Myths, New World, 207). Four birds devoured the antediluvian dwellers on earth.

²⁴ They drew blood from their ears, &c. In ch. 8 (seq.) *Camaxtli* takes a maguey thorn and draws blood from his tongue and ears. The Persians drew blood from ears, arms and face. Cf. *García*, iv, 301.

²⁵ *Talocatecli* threw his son into the cinders. Should be *Tlaloc*. (Cf. Abraham and Isaac.)

²⁶ *Chichimecas* (*García*, V, 2, 322), offered no let or hindrance to the immigrants who drove them away, but were filled with fright and astonishment, and hid themselves among the most inaccessible rocks.

But the C. on the other side of the Sierra Nevada, where the *Lascahualtecas* came, did not behave in this manner, but valiantly resisted the invaders, being of gigantic stature, endeavored to drive them out of the land, but were ultimately overcome by the force of the *Lascahualtecas*. Then they had resort to stratagem, and feigning peace and submission invited their conquerors to a banquet at which concealed men precipitated themselves upon the *Lascahualtecas* when they had become drunken and helpless. However, the *Lascahualtecas* rallied to the assistance of their comrades, and being better armed and disciplined, ultimately defeated the giants, leaving not one man alive. After many generations the barbarous *Chichimecas* became civilized, wore clothes and became as other people, forming themselves a state. (Cf. *García*, V, 302.)

Chichimeca. (*Clavigero* tr. Cullen, I, 91), according to some from *Techichiani*, sucking, because they sucked the blood of the animals which they hunted. C. calls them *Chechemecatli*, (Betancourt), from *Chichimi*, dogs' beans. If the name had been one of contempt they would not have prided themselves upon it, as they did. Another point to show it was an indigenous word.

A number of conjectural etymologies have been assigned for this name, but all unsatisfactory. As this people appear to have been aboriginal it seems to me that any attempt to explain its name by means of the language of the conquerors must be futile. Those who speak an alien tongue have always been looked upon by their neighbors as barbarians, and even as not possessed of rational speech, but as using only an unintelligible jargon. The Latin dramatist expresses the feeling in his lines, *Barbarus hic ego, quid non intelligor nulli*.

According to *García* (V, 3, 321), the word *Nahuatl* means the people that speaks distinctly and makes itself understood (Cf. *Sahagun* X, 29.) (Buschman, 685), "well sounding, clear, distinct."

Boturini, 78. *Chichimecatli*, el que' chupa, from their sucking the blood of animals. *Chichi* means mamar, to nurse. *Anales* 3, 2, 60.

²⁷ *Camasate*, more properly, *Camaxtli*, qu., a name of *Tezcatlipoca* (A. H. M., 90); *la faja noturna* (*Anales* 3, 363). He was worshiped by the *Lascahualtecas*, being there the same as *Huitzilopochtli*. *Clavigero* I, 2, III. (Cf. Note 3.)

²⁸ *Ce acatl*, one reed, the day of *Quetzalcoatl*'s birth, and by which he was often called. It was a day of evil omen, and no one born on it could hope for success.

This year which returns but once in the Mexican cycle of fifty-two years, was

the one in which the god Quetzalcoatl was expected to reappear; and it so happened that in this very year Cortez entered the land of Mexico. Gloomy prophecies had preceded his advent, and he met a sovereign predisposed to submission.

²⁹ Tlapalla. This is the *Tlapallan* which Brinton (A. H. M., 89) believes to be the "City of the Sun," the original home of the Aztecs. All this he considers a sun myth. The word signifies "the red land" (Codez Mendoza, Anales I, 4, 173). It was to this country that Quetzalcoatl was to take his journey (Buschman, p. 684).

"*Tlapallan*, the red land, and *Tizapan*, the white land, were really the names for the land of the sun. *Tizapan* from *tizatl*, white earth, and *pan* in." (Am. Hero Myths, 135.) The idea holds ground among some scholars that this long record is only one of journeyings up and down through the valley of Mexico.

³⁰ Chapultepeque. Monte des Conejos. (Garcia, IV, 233.) Cerro del Chapulin (Bot. 78). See note 43.

³¹ Culhuacan. Culhuacan (A. H. M., 89).

ERRATUM.

On page 648, 12th line from bottom, for *quid non intelligor* read *quia non intelligor*

the goddess of flowers.

A similar myth is narrated (A. H. M., 90) of the birth of Quetzalcoatl, "the feathered serpent," which seems more probable from the connection of this name with the bunch of feathers, the virgin is stated here to have placed in her bosom.

⁴² *Cuzco* means (Garcia, IV, 293) the navel of the earth.

⁴³ *Bridge* of Chapultepeque; this is probably a clerical error of *punte* for *fuen'e*, as in the preceding chapter a (fountain or) stream of water (*fuelle*) is spoken of as existing at that place. The word means hill of the locust, from *chapulin*, locust, and *tepec*, a hill. (Cf. Note 30.)

⁴⁴ In the original *tes*, meaning evidently *tres*.

⁴⁵ In the original *dos*, probably an error for *los*.

⁴⁶ *Ciquacoatl*, more properly *Cihuacoatl*; the serpent woman (Myths New World, 120); *Cihuacohuatl* (Clavigero, I, 216).